4: Silva--248 M-4,5 (1947-1958) 1962 SQ19 Tucano SQ19

/169 cont./

*192
822

It is to be noted that in the Tukano language (46)

> 46. And not only the Tukano, but also the other idioms of the Uaupés (Tukano linguistic family) and of the Caburí use the same term for the colors red and yellow, and another for green and blue.

there is only one term, soïse, to indicate orange, red and yellow, and another, ya'sasé, for green and blue, although they distinguish not only the seven simple colors, but also the intermediate ones.

• 533
534

As for the music, although not favored with a voice, since he generally has a shrill one, the taste and the relative ease with which he learns the songs with one or more voices are to be noted. Their dance songs, although they are monotonous and sad, are very harmonious, and the motifs that they execute on their flutes are quite varied and pleasant. Endowed, so to speak, with the musical instinct, the child learns the rhythm and the steps of the traditional dances with the greatest facility, without schooling, watching and dancing. Even the children are capable of preparing their flutes, even those called de Pã or carípo, as well as small organs of six to ten tubes, corresponding to the musical notes and harmonizing their various musical instruments perfectly.

*[192]

/Page 170 in the original text is blank./

123
202

/255 cont./

/footnote 7 cont./ had gone about four hundred meters, a characteristic cry, which seemed to us more like the chirping of some bird, was heard. The Tukano who came along with us as oarsmen interpreted at once: "It is the tuxaua who is calling in order to return the machete." Truly the tuxaua was waiting for us with the machete, which was returned to its legitimate owner.

On several occasions, as we navigated the headwaters of the rivers or the igarapés, Indians who were in the interior of the forest and heard the noise of the oars exchanged whistles with our oarsmen, who afterwards would give us detailed information: who they were, if they were hunting, picking fruits, looking for caraná, or cutting lumber. It is to be noted that we never heard the Indian humming his songs or whistling for mere diversion.

[533]

/256/ 2. Sciences.

a) Geography -- Topography.

823
[153]

Their geographic notions of the region are not very numerous, but they are accurate. It is difficult to distinguish what they know through individual experience, through tribal tradition, or through the influence of the civilized whom they consult, because, endowed with an excellent memory, they retain the information that they receive, like that which they learn visually.

/273 cont./

d) His curing processes.

755 The curing process, even in cases of the use of adequate remedies, of plants of recognized therapeutic virtue, is based on suggestion, or at least it is helped by it. As a matter of fact, from the massages or suction of the ailing part, or from making water fall there from a cuia, they later show the patient (having recourse to prestidigitation, as Koch Grünberg, Z. I. 99 was able to observe) the object (bone, /274/ stone, thorn, insects, scales, etc.) that has been extracted from the painful member and caused him the pains, Waxkarſ.

With the help of narcotics or stimulants, he will induce in himself states of crisis or of nervous excitation, during which he sees the causes of the sickness, or those who have caused the malefice. He will be able to make the patient see it too. He will prefer to bring the patient to his hut; or he will go to that of the patient during the night. He will demand the absence of other persons, and, alone with the patient, he will start his practices in an atmosphere of darkness and mystery, muttering very rapidly (21)

[797]

21. For this reason they like the Missionary to say the prayers more quickly.

unintelligible words, sung in a peculiar tone and alternated with loud sighs and groans. They know and perform a series of songs, each one with its efficacy for a given type of infirmity (22).

[533]
[534]
[126]
[113]

22. We have managed to record some of those songs of the pajés from the Tukano, Wanana, Taryana, and Huhúdeni tribes, which can be heard in the "Discoteca Etno-linguístico-musical /Ethno-linguistic-musical Record Collection/" of the Centro de Pesquisas of Iauareté. Address: P. Alcionilio Brüzzi, Largo C. de Jesus, 154, S. Paulo, Brazil.

/274 cont./

755 often accompanied by the sound of the maracá (Yaxsã-ga), re-
• [533] garded as a magic instrument.
[534]

[192] Maracá (yaxsã-ga)

The development of this suggestive process is facilitated by various causes. The first one is the mental attitude of the Indian. Then perhaps the natural medicinal effect of the treatment, and coincidences which the Indian will take as a cause. It seems, moreover, that in some cases it is a matter of an unconscious hypnotism, maybe even spontaneous telepathy and magnetic force. Facts of singular telepathic manifestation and others that are amazing and escape any explanation on our part are known (23).

[797] 23. In Iauareté the pajés said that under the foundation of the church was buried a malefic
[753] cigar, which would attack the faithful with its emanations. Several cases of tuberculosis actually appeared among the natives, explained, naturally, as the effect of the emanations from the cigar. In Teresita, formerly a Mission of the Montfortian Padres and today of the Instituto of the Missões Estrangeiras /Foreign Missions/ of Yarumal, on the Papurí River (Colombia), six brothers, strong men, died in less than three years, from the malifice, they say, of the Pirá-tapúya Pajé of Umurutinga.

756 /275/ It might also happen that in serious cases of illnesses,
731 epidemics, or storms the pajé will invite other colleagues to form a "medical junta."

/299/

c) Music.

1) Musical sense.

533 Probably the most pronounced artistic sense of these tribes is the taste for music. This musical sense is so remarkable that a 534 child cuts his taquaras /bamboo/ with the right dimensions, ties 857 together eight or ten, and a small organ results, the "flauta-de-533 pã," or carĩço, with the notes succeeding one another with the *[192] same interval of frequency of vibration as in the musical scale, as can be verified with a harmonium. As a rule they manufacture it in pairs, in such a way that one will serve as contracanto /countersong/ to the other.

533 They are, then, endowed with a good musical ear; for this reason they learn with great facility the most varied of our songs, even classical pieces, for one or more voices, and they greatly enjoy instrumental or vocal music. They moreover greatly [177] appreciate the "music of the whites," that is, of the civilized.

[194] As an effect of the Tukano language, full of nasals and very many and rough gutturals and aspirates, and of the influence of [147] the diet (pepper), climate, and way of life, the Indian's voice has little elasticity (54),

54. The voice has so little elasticity that perhaps no native of the Uaupés is able to give [562] a whole octave. Outside of the feasts and dances the men never sing; the women do it infrequently, for example, when they work in the clearing. It is to be pointed out, however, that the men's songs are religious hymns, whereas those of the women are bacchic compositions that they render when they distribute the drink. [797] Among the alumni, and especially among the alumnae, of the Salesian Mission, there is a greater elasticity, and one hears humming more frequently. This, however, is usually the religious or secular songs learned at school.

/299 cont./

533 [147] [194]

is metallic and unpleasant when he speaks, and it is even more metallic in conjunction, when they speak or sing.

2) Songs.

The native likes to sing, although he appears bashful about doing it, outside the feasts, in front of the civilized. He has a repertoire of songs for the ritual dances (religious songs), and others for his amusement (secular songs). The former are always in choir, without solos and in only one voice. The latter are sung by one or more singers simultaneously or alternately, repeating the same theme or not.

a) Religious songs.

They are sung exclusively by the men. They are slow, monotonous, with many repetitions. As for the rhythm, inspiration, and /300/ movement, they can be classified or grouped among the Gregorian compositions. Since the only process of apprenticeship is by hearing and the memory, it follows that the music is preserved more or less faithfully (55);

[178]

> 55. As is verified by watching their feasts in different circumstances and places or among different tribes.

[178]

the lyrics, however, have been corrupted. Nowadays in many of these songs there are only sounds without meaning, and the forest dwellers themselves confess that they do not understand the meaning of the articulations that they utter (56).

> 56. As happens, incidentally, in the popular songs of the civilized. (Cf. also VII-6, a (2) /see a (3)/.)

/300 cont./

• 533 Some of these songs are inspired by nature: song of the "cutia /agouti/ that eats umarí /a plant/," the "defoliation of the açaí /assai/," song of the butterfly, of the bee, etc.

797 The songs or the dances often start with whistles and also
533 regularly end with a fortissimo of whistles and cries.

Pe. Antônio Giacone states (Os Tucanos /The Tucano/, p. 52) that there is a song reserved for the tuxáua, and with the very
[276] melody of the dance. While the large ritual cigar is being passed from mouth to mouth among the men seated on their stools, the
*[192] tuxáua sings as follows:
[539] "mãrí bũxkõrá, mãrí paxkõ-s'õmõá baxsesé duhí-wé:pãra, yõõ ná põrá uhú duhí, uhú duhí we:yá, mãxsã yõõ põra"; that is, "our old people, our ancestors, seated, they held ceremonies (Blowings), just as they did them anciently, you do it too, smoking, my children, smoking seated."

b) Secular songs.

533 The secular songs constitute an artistic patrimony exclusively
[562] for the women. The men do not know how to sing them, just as persons of the female sex do not know the religious songs of the
[273] men. They deserve to be called bacchic songs, because, as a rule,
[535] the women or girls sing them when they distribute the drink, in the interval between the dances. All these songs present quite a clear meaning; they are invitations to drink or request for drinks; not infrequently also referring to episodes of the singer's life. They are recitatives, and therefore, respecting the melody, the performer will sing her verses, sometimes longer, sometimes shorter, sometimes with greater felicity, sometimes with less. There is, then, ground for personal inspiration, although obeying a traditional pattern and using common sentences and ideas. Some are more rousing, others, less; developing a /301/ simple musical theme, of few bars, but melodic and pleasant. Just as melodic and pleasant, although also of few bars, are the musical canons that they play on the "flauta-de-pã" /Panpipe/ and on the "japurutú" /see yapurutú, or long flute, below/.

/301 cont./

533 As for the execution, one must point out that beautiful voices are sometimes found. Among the Baniva and the Kubêwãna one also observes piano or even pianissimo passages and forte ones, a consideration that we did not notice among other tribes. There is no preoccupation, however, with the breathing; especially when, already temulent, the woman will sing while she has any breath, then suddenly interrupts the verse or the melody in order to breathe noisily.

Some of these songs of the dances of the women, as well as of the pajés, end with laughing or a characteristic cry.

c) Songs of the xamã /shaman/.

533 756 [184] There is a repertoire belonging exclusively to the pajés. Since one paje is trained in the school of another, perhaps of a different tribe (cf. VII -- 2, e (2 f)), this explains the fact of hearing the same song rendered by pajés of different tribes. Nevertheless the melodies of the songs of the Tukano pajés of the Tiquie are quite different from those of the Wanana and Arwâke pajés that we were able to record (cf. "Discoteca Etno-linguístico-musical /Ethno-linguistic-musical Record Collection/").

[534] [755] The pajés almost always sing to the sound of the maracá. Their songs constitute one of the curing processes and thus will vary according to the sickness. The musical theme is a Greek-Gregorian canon, melodious, slow, solemn. In some songs the words are already found adulterated; they are articulated sounds without meaning. At times laughs are also inserted.

3) Musical instruments.

534 R. G. Izikowitz (Musical and other sound instruments of the South American Indians -- A comparative ethnical study, 1935) presents four groups of musical instruments: 1st) idiophones, 2nd) membranophones, 3rd) chordophones, and 4th) aerophones. We do not find any example of the third group among the tribes of the

/307 cont./

*192 534 way, instead of poxsõ, makú; and they explained why, that is, it serves as a servant, it is the makú of the jurupari); 3rd pair: doé (taraira), its wife is pextoã (kingfisher); 4th pair: dẽ'tõ (squirrel), its wife is also pusõ.

[184] It seems that each tribe has its peculiar way of preparing the mĩrĩã, so that, without previous practicing, those of one tribe do not know how to play properly the instruments of another tribe. At least the Wanĩna of Carurú-cachoeira (Uaupés) apologized for having only one man among them who knew how to play the mĩrĩã loaned for the occasion by the neighboring Huhudẽne of Uaupuim-cachoeira (river Aiarí, trib. of the Içana).

13th. -- Eheõnõ. It is not properly speaking a musical instrument, but a legendary object and for commemoration of the legends. We have already described this small horn above (cf. VI -- 4, i (3)).

4) Musical themes of the Panpipes.

• 533 [115] The Salesian Missionary, Pe. Eduardo Lagório, admirer of the native music (58),

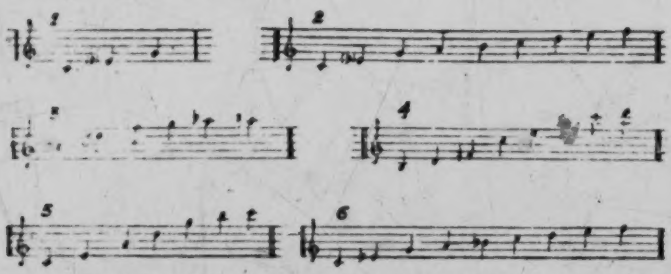
> 58. And who has already been inspired by the native musical themes for the composition of religious and secular songs.

provided the following notes about the Panpipes /flautas-de-pã/ and their musical themes.

/308/

*192
• 533

"The first three tubes (of the Panpipe) always give a chord most of the time major and once in a while minor, the first three tubes giving the result:



1. Notes of the first three tubes; 2. wãnyã-pa (of nine tubes);
3. yõrõrí-pa (of six tubes); 4. puxtirí-pa (of eight tubes);
5. wéõ-pa (of seven tubes); 6. yõtirí-pa (of nine tubes).

*192
533
534

The other tubes will follow with more variety. There is a small flute, which they call wãnỹã-pa, with nine tubes, the notes of which are the following (2 supra):

The other one with which they answer the thicker tubes, or vice versa, takes the name of yõtiri-pa (yõti, they answer).

The tonalities will of course vary with the variation of the measurements. These will depend on the measurement adopted for the largest tube, and also on its manufacturer, because they are measured by the phalanges of their fingers. The difference in size between the first and second tube corresponds to the first two phalanges of the index finger; between the second and third tube, and between the latter and the fourth, to the first phalanx of the index finger; between the fourth and the fifth, only a half a phalanx; between the other tubes only the tip of the index finger.

It should be noted that, starting with the third tube, the diameter decreases. This rule holds for the small type wanyã-pa.

They prepare, moreover, a small flute of six tubes, which they call yõrõrí-pa and is played alone, that is, without contracanto.

One of them gave the following notes (3 supra):

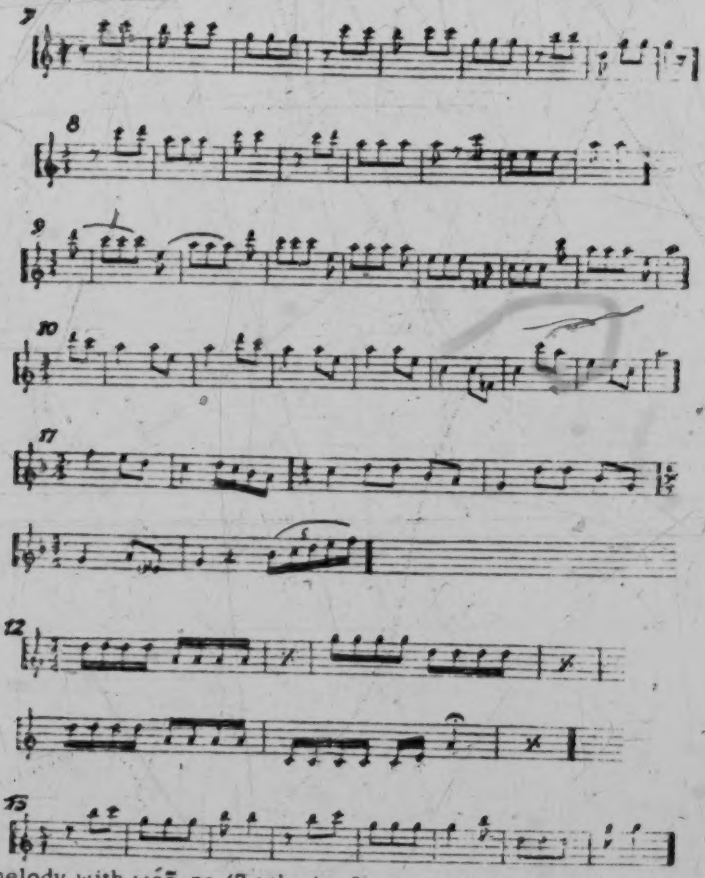
With longer tubes they manufacture various types of flutes, one called wéõ-pa, another, puxtirí-pa.

The same ones blown in the thicker tubes, or vice versa, serve as contracanto and in this case are also called yõtirí-pa.

/308 cont./

• 533 Two of them, compared with the harmonium, and which were
534 used for playing the melodies below, gave the following notes (4 and 5 supra): /The final quotation marks for the quotation that begins at the top of p. 451 are missing in the original source./

533 /309/ The same informant furnished the following melodies, chosen among the easiest ones of the native repertoire, to be adapted to the bar:



*[192] 7. melody with wéõ-pa (7 tubes); 8. melodic variation with the instrument of 8 tubes; 9. melody with puxtirí-pa (8 tubes); 10. another melody with that of 8 tubes; 11. melody with the yõtirí-pa (9 tubes); 12. melody with wéõ-pa (7 tubes); 13. another melody with wéõ-pa.

/338 cont./

796
[123]
[126]
*[192]

/footnote 45 cont./ he would not allow him to attend the dance. Confirmation of this religious character, it seems to us, is also found in the refusal to our request to repeat the ceremony of the offering of the fish (waí poosé) under better conditions, so that we could film it. Nevertheless these Indians repeated the simple dances for us for this same purpose.

[126]

The Tukano Antônio Barreto (December of 1953) assured us that they did not do poosé in front of the whites. Nevertheless, we had the opportunity to attend it and to film it. Koch Grünberg (Zwei Iahre, p. 202): he moreover was able to attend it on the Umarí-igarapé, but many Indians appeared displeased by this, and the tuxáua José did not allow him to take photographs.

As though they were undertaking a serious ceremony and not a

•[533]
[535]

diversion. Nothing will disturb these rites. Singing mysterious words (ancient dialect? or, with more probability, mere corruption) which they do not understand, dancing in a slow cadence and marking the time with stronger beats with the right foot.

/339/ 4th. -- They attribute to such feasts in addition an

[755]

efficacious healing action. It can drive away all the sicknesses and even heal large wounds (46).

46. This is what Koch Grünberg was able to verify (Zwei Iahre, 202): "dem Yurupari-Tanze wird eine stark Zauberwirkung sugeschrieben /sic/. Er soll alle Krankheiten vertreiben, und selbst gross Wunden heilen" /a strong magical effect is attributed to the Yurupari dance. It is supposed to drive away all sicknesses, and even

/345 cont./

796 535 *[192] Some of these dances are performed partially inside and partially outside the maloca, for example, the one that is called "wa'wári baxsá," which could be translated as "the dance of the caps," since wá-wá is a cap plaited with arumã splints. The dancers moreover go to the yard of the maloca around 4 o'clock in the afternoon, again around midnight, before dawn, and, finally, around 9 o'clock in the morning. According to the legends, the ancestors of the tribes danced at those times outside the maloca. And the feast is not only a recollection, but is also meant to be a reviviscence of the principal episodes of the epopee of their origins.

• [533] *[192] In one of these dance numbers the wife of the local tuxáua goes into the middle of the dancers' circle and utters a long and shrill cry, while the men continue to dance around her. This soloist is called yõhõgó (52).

52. Yõhõgó is the feminine present participle of yohõ, which seems to be an onomatope of the sound that she sings. An informant also called her nõ'mõ bayá, that is, woman bayá (see VII-6, a (2)).

She must not take a breath during this dance, but cry out with only one breath. If she breathes in the middle of the song, it [115] means that she will not live long. In this dance, says a Piratapuya informant (Emiliana Castro), they imitate the hopping of the cotias /agouti/,

[273] The dances are about to start. The caxirí is served in large cuias. Each individual will drink as much as he wants. If there is any left, the next companion will empty the cuia, with the right, however, to help himself first from the cuia that will then be filled immediately. Those who distribute the drink represent the butterfly: they have a feather over each ear, representing the wings and a small tendril of cipo in a spiral on the forehead by way of a proboscis. They advance in a rush,

796 /348/
535 The tuxáua starts the second part of the program, placing himself, as at the first time, beside the second column; the others follow him, and the dance begins again.

[514] During the intervals that follow the dances, they go out for their needs, the men by the front door of the maloca, the women by the back one.

*[192] There are intermezzi musicali performed by the young men who play "flautas-de-pã" /Panpipes/ or japurutús (VII - 3, [534] c (3c)). We have observed that in general it is the younger men, especially the single ones, that play the flautas-de-pã, and the • [533] ones who play the japurutús are a little older. The instruments are combined into pairs, rendering beautiful musical themes of question and answer.

4) Distribution of the kaxpí.

796 About 3 o'clock the kaxpí is served (cf. VI - 4, i (4) /see
273 i (3)/). One of the old Kõmũ prepared it during the dabacurí.
*[192] At this time, in order to give it more strength, he "blows" over
[533] the kaxpí. Afterwards he goes away from the pot, sings a song, also sounding the yaí-gõ (see VII - 3, c (a) /see VII - 3, c (3a)/). An old Indian, who represents the butterfly, because of his ornaments, stations himself between the two central columns of the maloca, sitting on a small seat, in order to make the distribution (57).

> 57. At the feast of the Wanana of Caruru-cachoeira (river Uaupés) on April 24 and 25 of 1955, the first kaxpí was served by the local tuxáua himself, and before the dances, around 1 o'clock in the afternoon.

He fills two small cuias and presents them, with outstretched arms, starting with the old man who "blew" the kaxpí and afterwards to the rest, in the order of decreasing age. Anyone who wants to can spit it out later, according to what they said and

/357 cont./

776 It seems that we are faced with some confusion between
177 the primitive notions and the ideas that the travelers, colonizers, and Missionaries brought and even taught them in different epochs.

*192 Wãx-tĩ, we have concluded, is a general term to designate these various beings, like our word "Spirit." The term
776 also occurs in the plural, Wãx-tĩa baxsá, dance of the Wãx-tĩ. Probably it is derived from the root wax, and from the substantivizing determinative tĩ. As a matter of fact, there is in the Tukano language the root wax, which would indicate: to imagine, idea, to form ideas, model. Wax-kũ means to think, perhaps from the root wax and the verb kũ, to put.

776 Among the different Wãx-tĩ or spirits, there is one par excellence, the "Wãx-tĩ," as we say "The Supreme, Most Perfect Spirit," or simply the Spirit.

Wãx-tĩ, as follows from the Uaupés legends (which we
776 shall examine in more detail in another study, "Lendas do Uaupés
782 /Legends of the Uaupés/"), is not only a Hero of the tribe, he is the Legislator, therefore the Supreme Lord. He punishes or will punish transgressions. In order to conjure away his punishments, it is important to propitiate him with particular rituals.
*[192] It can be seen in the poosé or wãx-tĩye baxsasé, sacrifices of fish, beijú, or fruits. And there is also communion of the group in the drinking and the smoking. The lyrics of the songs, today
• [533] corrupted and without meaning, might perhaps have been the sacrificial hymns (68).

[115] 68. One of the students of the Mission of Parí-cachoeira (river Tiquié), José Barreto, told that his father, one of the most famous bayá, or singers at the feasts, and dance master, had taught him that the songs during the dabacurí or poosé recalled the creation of the human beings.

/357 cont./

776 [533] Those inserted words and shouts are perhaps ritual words and exclamations. We thus have a cult of the deity.

Later there was confusion between the Legislator Spirit and other spirits, that is, between the Wãx-tĩ and the wãx-tiá or wãx-tĩá maxsã, /358/ What could have been the cause? It is certain that religious instruction that was not very deep could give rise to great confusion, even among the civilized. It is likewise beyond doubt that they had successive contacts with the Christians, and there was not perenniality in the Missionaries' work of Christianization. Who knows but that the concept of one true God, who is Jesus Christ, the "God of the whites" (69),

[115]

69. Dr. Pereira Nunes told us of an interview that he had with an old Indian on the Ilha-das-flôres (mouth of the river Uaupés) when he found out that they were celebrating the feast of Jurupari or Wãx-tĩ at a short distance, deeper in the interior of the forest. -- "Do you believe in the Jurupari?" he asked him. -- "Yes," he answered, "he is our God!" -- "And Jesus Christ?" -- "Jesus Christ is the 'God of the whites,'" was the answer.

as opposed to the false gods, idols, or demons, is what brought such entanglement and identification of Wãx-tĩ with the demon (70).

70. "They have generally called him Yurupari," wrote Paulo Ehrenreich (Revista do Instituto Histórico e Geográfico de S. Paulo, 1908, Vol. II, p. 303), "solar or cultural hero, a designation taken from the língua geral and falsely identified with the devil by the Missionaries." The identification

/392 cont./

527 beautiful ornaments, and in certain dance numbers, in the right
535 hand, the "yu-yú" (see below, dances, 5th part), the significance of
[192] which it was not possible for us to obtain. It consists of a small stick, having on the tip a cord from whose end hangs a loop of cipo about 15 centimeters in diameter. Cord and loop are decorated with delicate and striking tucano /toucan/ feathers. With this instrument he "beats time for the dances," that is, he shakes it rhythmically, more or less as the conductor who directs an orchestra does with his baton.

[192] 3) Variety of dances. -- One does not notice variety in the dance steps; they are precisely the same for the most solemn Poosé as for the simplest baxsarí-nâmã̂ (literally it means dance day).

527 There are no distinct terms equivalent to song and dance. The
533 word baxsasé translates their ideas, because they always sing during
535 the dances; and the words correspond to the rhythm of the feet and to the choreography of the movements executed.

They distinguish varieties of baxsasé, according to the musical instrument that they use; each one will have its lyrics or song. In the religious dances they are words or sounds articulated without any meaning, and they are repeated many times for the duration of the movement of the steps. The tuxáua-bayá from Parí-cachoeira,
[115] Júlio Silgueira Machado, declared to us, and many others with him, that they do not understand what they are singing.

They also vary the melodies, which are ordinarily slow, sad, although some might be pleasant and quite melodious. For /393/ this reason different names for the dances, sometimes even poetic names, appear.

[184] In different tribes we have verified the similarity in the feasts, the same ornaments and instruments. One must point out this detail: the melodies of the instrumental music are almost identical, whereas those of the song-dances differ a little more. In the steps of the dances one does not perceive any difference from tribe to tribe. That is, even in the two extremes of the native Uaupésina hierarchy, to wit, the noble tribe of the Tukano, and the slave tribe of the Makú from the outskirts of Iauareté.

535 The tuxáua-bayá Júlio gave us the following names of dances that are performed in the most solemn Poosé:

/393 cont./

*192
535

1st. With the rhythm tube or ahũ̃wõ̃:
Ixki pũrĩ bõrõasé baxsá -- song-dance "the falling of the leaves of the inajá" or
Ixki pũrĩ baxsá -- "song-dance of the leaf of the inajá."

2nd. With the maracá or yaxsã̃ (ya'sá or ñaxsã̃):
pexká baxsá -- "song-dance of the firewood"
ka'i baxsá -- "song-dance of the mass of the umarí"
kenõ̃ baxsá -- "song-dance of the jatobá."

3rd. With a simple rhythm stick or yuxkõ̃:
Poori baxsá -- "song-dance of the offering" (of the dabacurí)
wai baxsá -- "song-dance of the fish"
Wãx-tiá baxsá -- "song-dance of the Wãx-tĩ."

4th. With the small flute called bwá (cotias /agoutis/):
bwá baxsá -- "song-dance of the cotias."

115
• 533

Júlio, the tuxáua-bayá from Parí-cachoeira (river Tiquié), sang for us the various songs whose words or articulations we give in the following, revealing once more that all the "verses" were repeated many times (128).

[126]

128. We lament not having had a recording machine at the time when this tuxaua, with the best state of mind, furnished us this information. Later, in the possession of such apparatus, we went twice to Parí-cachoeira, where we waited for a long time for the opportunity of listening to him and recording his songs. It was not possible, however; the old Tuxáua was in the last months of his life, afflicted, it seems, with an internal ulcer, dying on July 5, 1954. We were able, however, to witness and film the solemn funeral of a highly esteemed Tuxáua. We nevertheless obtained other precious recordings, and, among these, the various songs of the Wanana, performed by the tuxáua Mandú from Carurú-cachoeira (river Uaupés), and of the pajés of various tribes (cf. the "Discoteca Etno-linguístico-musical" /Ethno-linguistic-musical Record Collection/).

*192 /394/
• 533
539
[124]
[126]

1. Song-dance with the rhythm tube, ahũ-wõ: 1st part (129):

129. We have tried to be quite accurate in the reproduction of the sounds. According to what seemed to follow from the pronunciation of Júlio, we separated the words and differentiated the verses. It might be that some separation has been the fault of the singer. And they commit it many times, taking a breath or breathing unduly between articulations that should be connected, and vice versa. We have verified, with singers from other places, even though they repeat Júlio's melody, that there is not perfect agreement with the articulated sounds that we publish here. This fact should not be surprising, if we recall that they learn by hearing and that the articulated sounds are without meaning. When one pays close attention, it is noted that in the same dance there is not strict agreement among the dancers. A little difference in the beat and discrepancy in the articulated sounds are observed.

Yá, yá, kapikwá
Yaká peri kapikwá
Nuyaká peri
Dwiká peri deyú deyú ayá
I iroyé.
Mã i-i, i-i-i (final whistle) (he explained that the whistle is to indicate that he is about to finish)

2nd part

Má-ri-á i-i-i (whistle)
Dé-yá ya-yõ mari
Ikawé yo
Yóa marí ikawé yó
Yó mari ikawé dyakó
Dyakú i-i
Yó yó yõ marí
Kawé mari i-i-i (whistle)

/394 cont./

3rd part

*192
• 533
539

Mã i-i, i-i-i (whistle)
Yêê marwê kaná
Kawá do mariwí akawó-ro
Mariwi mariwí akawó-ro
Yê mariwí a-a-a akawó inawé
A mariwí a-a-a akawó inawé
Yuú kawá inawé
Yuú kawá inawé uu uu
Marí marí
Marí akawá inawé marí i-i-i (whistle)

2. Song-dance with the yaxsã̄ (large maracá)
Êê-yá ẽẽyá má

/395/

Dyaká a pi kapi
Wamá kapí kapí yuamá
Ya marí wemã a-a kapí kapí
Ya kapí nemã yá wamã
Kapí kapí nemã ya wamã
Ye kapí kapí nemã wamã
Ey-á ey-á (whistle)

3. Song-dance with the yaxsã̄ in the other dances (outside the poosé)
Dyá yá i-i-i dyá yá i-i-i
Yé a marikẽna
Mariwé mariwé ya marjwé
Marikenõ ka-yá yá
Marikenõ mariwé marikenõ mariwé
Mariwé mariwé mariwé
Marikenõ ka-yá (he lowers his voice, very low sounds)
Mariwé yá-yá i-i-i
Mariwé yá-yá i-i-i (he observes to us that this song ends without whistles)

4. Song-dance with the rhythm stick, yuxkȭ
Yá-yá yá-yá (whistle)
Yé kapité
Marí kwá yá kuyá-yarí
Kapité marí kwá yakoró yalima

/395 cont./

*192
• 533
539

Koró dikúya ayá kwá-yarí
Kapité marí apinã
Kapité marí kapité marí kuyá-yá kuya-arí
Kapité marí kuyá-yá yá yá-yá (whistle)

5. Song-dance with the yuxkõ (130)

[171]

130. These sounds Perikuli (7th) and kwai (5th) are precisely the names of the principal personages of the Arwáke legends, corresponding, respectively, to Bũxpó and O'ã-kõ of the Tukano legends. Would it be a mere coincidence of sounds in different languages? Would they be Arwáke songs learned by the tribes of the Tukano group? Might all the dances of these tribes be of Arwáke origin?

Yá yá-yá yá-yá (whistle)
E yá yá perikú ée perikwé
Yaká yõ kayó yuaí
Yá piré-ku-li nomé-nõ
Perikwé pyaká wamé tyá
Pamí kwai peri-dikú ée yó
Peri-ku-li yá-yá yá-yá (whistle)

/396/

6. Song-dance with the yuxkõ

Ma dyá pa-wõ (whistle)
Dyá diká apyá kapi akapyá
Kapi pawí diká yukú kapyá
Kapyá dewá yukú
Wapyá yukú deyé-wé
Kapyá kapí pawí dewá yukú
Kapyá kapí pawí dewá jukú
Wapi-a yukú nomã-a yaví
Wapí yá yú mã-di-yá
Wapí yá yú mã-di-yá
Sawé sawé (whistle)

/396 cont./

192
533
539

7. Song-dance with the bwá (flute or small fife)
Mã-ã-ã. Eyarí mamã eyarí mãmã kapinã
Perikú yavĩ-i-i davyá (Yavĩ = long, slim?)
Davyá yavi
Davi kawá-á nomã yavi-nõ
Davi kawá yaú; davi kawá yaú
Kapiná perikúli
Davyá yavi yú
Kawá-yavyá mã-ã-ã (he blows the flute at length)

[115]
[574]

8. Song-dance with the yaxsã or small maracá
(For example, said Júlio, "Tuyuka invites Tukano for the feast. The Tuyuka sing in the maloca, when they are finished singing, the Tukano, from outside, sing" the following:)
Yẽ-ẽ dyá yakẽ mari
Kemẽ maryé-é
Kemẽ maryé-é kenaní
Wekã-ní kená amỹá
Weká kená maryé pyá
Kenã yá marỹé
Wekã-ne ma-yá axpekã ané
Wekã-re kenaní wekã-re
Kená tše! tšá!
(They repeat alternately, now the Tuyuka sing, now the Tukano.)

4) The dances.

535
[115]

a) Preparation. We shall describe one of the dances for simple amusement, performed, however, with great solemnity, and how the most important personage of the group, the tuxaua /397/ Mandú from Iauareté, and the humblest of the extras, a young man of 18 to 20 years old, Marcelino by name, appeared.

535
237
301
[291]

Mandú (131)

131. The tuxáua, who had received us dressed in pants, although without a shirt, in order to prepare for the dances, took off the pants and continued with his Waxsó-ro of cloth; he did not put on, as on other occasions, the large Waxsó-ro of hanging inner-bark.

/397 cont./

534 took up a position in front of the second post at the left, in the
535 /398/ central nave (133).

[342]

133. Their rectangular maloca, although not of large dimensions, corresponded to a division of five naves: the central high nave, under the ridge, two side spaces, and, along the side walls, the space reserved for the families. It is to be noted, however, that there is no interior partition between family and family.

The men imitated his steps and, on his left, formed an open semi-circle.

*[192] 1st Part: Each one places the left hand on the right shoulder of the companion (Pá-bwasé is the Tukano name for this gesture). They execute some rhythmic beats with the pestle-tube (it is what is called yuxkõ-mẽra doxkesé) and some steps with the right foot forward and back (du'tisé). Then the line moves (nikã-ká eheanõ-kátyãra baxsasé) to the right and to the left until the circumference is closed, making some turns from the left to the right (sũtõasé) (134).

134. They explained to us that they are imitating the bavarí fish, which, before depositing its eggs, makes a few turns.

• 533 At the same time the men slowly sing unintelligible words, with a
535 frequent burden in which are sounded many times the syllables "paia-paia." The rhythm is accelerated at the end, and a cry and a heavy stroke with the rhythm tubes end the first part. During this
[562] part the women remained seated in conversation near the door, to the left of anyone who enters (135).

[123]

135. We, the three civilized observers, were to be found on the opposite side, at the right.

/398 cont./

• 533 535 *[192] 2nd Part: Position taken, as in the first part. The left hand on the right shoulder. The dance starts with an accelerated rhythm, a sharp cry and loud whistle (Wyisé) (136).

136. I had found it strange that up to then I had not heard the Indians whistle, when I always expected to hear them whistling in the forest, on walks, on trips, when they were rowing, and there was only silence or conversation in a discreet tone.

*[192] Afterwards the singing takes a slow rhythm, the syllables "kapii-kapii" being heard frequently in the burden. A circle from the right *[192] broken up by another from the left. The women start entering, one by one: the first one places herself to the left of the tuxaua, with the nape she touches his left arm (yohoasé), extended to the right shoulder of the neighbor, and she embraces by the waist the two men between whom she is located. Thus successively. They give only two complete turns, and the women leave. The dance ends with an accelerated rhythm of the singing, of the steps, and with a final whistle. Then follow minutes of rest and of caxirí.

[534] 3rd and 4th Parts: These are numbers in which only the younger ones participate, playing the flauta-de-pã /Panpipe/ (3rd part) or the japurutú (4th part), /399/ with an interval during which they smoke and drink caxirí. These intermezzo numbers are very pleasant. Each young man brings his instrument, which harmonizes well with the others, one of them playing the contracanto, or response to the theme that the first one plays. These themes are very melodic short canons, in a florid scale, with ascending and descending notes. *[192] Sometimes the young men only dance, and then they go in pairs, the one on the right a little farther behind, holding his instrument with the right hand and, with the left one, the right shoulder of the other (pábwasé), who also plays his own instrument and has the left hand on the hip. Upon reaching the back, they make an evolution and exchange positions, the right one coming in front, with the left hand on the hip, and his companion farther back, with the left hand on the right shoulder of the first one.

/399 cont./

*192 535 [534] If there are also women, the couples are arranged in such a way that the young man holds the instrument with the right hand, and, with the left hand above his own shoulder (it is what is called ifiatusé), he holds the right hand of the girl, who rests her left hand on her own waist (pá-su'sũsé). The dancers start with only the men advancing toward the interior of the maloca, and, as snappers, a necklace of small tucum nuts on the right ankle in order to mark the rhythm. They go around in a circle, one after the other, to the right, then in the opposite direction to the left; then, opening the circle wider, they advance four times with the right foot toward the center, and they come back to the initial position. When the young men decide to walk, their companions present themselves. The couples are arranged. Sometimes the couples, one after the other, make evolutions describing the number eight (baxsá-mãhãmi betoá) or a spiral (baxsá sõ'tõã) to the right or to the left. At other times they are arranged in circles that become elongated or tighter, they turn to the right or to the left. During this entire evolution, they mark the rhythm with a stronger stroke with the right foot (dõ'pó-tisé). The women withdraw before the ending. The performances always end with a fortissimo of all the instruments.

*192 • 533 535 They are very pleasant melodies, but not infrequently the evolutions are so prolonged that they seem to be a contest of endurance. The spectators watch complacently from their hammocks, laughing and making comments, probably about the inaccuracy of the steps of the clumsier ones.

5th Part: While these numbers were displayed, one of the dancers went to prepare the "Yu'yúri-tiró." The tuxaua with his rhythm tube takes his position, and this time the men are distributed symmetrically on his right and on his left, in a semicircle. They start with an accelerated rhythm, then whistle, a slow dance following, to the singing of a funeral song. One of the Indians brings two yu'yú and gives /400/ one of them to the tuxaua, who is also the Bayá, the other to the latter's brother, bayá-re wetamõgõ, who is immediately to the left of the tuxaua. They hold the

/400 cont./

• 533 yú-yú with the left hand, and with the right one they beat the rhythm tube.
535
[192]

The yu-yú of the dances

Tobacco form

[192] The dancers are divided into two groups, who execute the movement by advancing and retreating (baxsá poterí), one in front of the other. Afterwards they place themselves in line, each one with his lady, describing circles. They again divide themselves into two groups, who advance and retreat. Now they turn their backs to one another, always with advances and retreats. It seems that the new song consists of several verses, each one ending with cries and whistles. At given moments some say words in a loud voice, just as the caller of square dances does. Would they be ceremonial words or a simple command for the evolutions to be performed? The women, finally, leave the dance, and the men continue in Indian file, with the left hand on the right shoulder of the preceding one. This file goes to describing circles, stopping from time to time, always, however, singing and beating the rhythm with the strokes of the rhythm tube.

[562] 6th Part. Performed only by the men, as in the first part.
[273] After this part, one of the dancers advances in order to distribute
[276] the caxirí with a cuia in each hand, mumbling some words and stamping the right foot harder, in a winding progression, like that of the snake. He gives one cuia to the tuxaua and the other to the most important person. The second time he brings some to two more, and thus to everyone. Also the long cigar of leaves goes from mouth to mouth.

/400 cont./

*192 7th Part: The tuxaua ties to his right ankle a necklace of dry
• 533 nuts (kixtyó). He then takes a position with his rhythm tube. The
534 men are arranged on his right and on his left, each one with his
535 rhythm tube in the right hand and the left one on his neighbor's right shoulder. The yu'yús are brought to the tuxaua and to his /401/ neighbor. It starts with a rhythm of strokes and steps in the same place, cry, whistle, and afterwards a funeral song in pianissimo, which goes crescendo slowly, while they move some steps to the right and to the left. They stop sometimes to take a step inside the circle and another backwards and to the side. This part was more prolonged, and the syllables "tyúko-malía" were heard many times in the burden. The group of dancers go outside the maloca, in the yard of which they perform the same steps as inside (yohá-wihyá). They come back again to the maloca, the
*[192] women abandon their position. At the finish there were only the men, who, after a small evolution, take the initial position, in a semicircle, and end the singing with small jumps (bu'pusé) and somewhat comical cries.

5) Wanãna song-dances.

115 The Wanãna Tomás Paiva, oldest son of Mandú, the present
533 (1957) tuxáua of Carurú-cachoeira (river Uaupés), and his probable successor, confirmed that the ritual songs were "ancient language," and, for this reason, they did not understand them. Through the desire to learn them well, and to maintain the old traditions, he tried to make inquiries from his father, esteemed local tuxáua-bayá, and from the "elders," and to write about them. There might perhaps be about 45 songs, he told us. We are of the opinion that this number would cover not only the songs, but indeed all the parts or verses; or perhaps even the repetitions of one and the same part or verse. It happened, however, that when he went to work as a carpenter in Venezuela those in his house used his writings for cigarette paper.

*192 With the collaboration of another Wanãna, Maximiano from
534 Sá, he indicated to us the following order for the dances:
535 1st Dance -- with the bwá flute, hence the name bwá baxsá
[115]

/403 cont./

533
562

6) Songs of the women.

We have already observed (cf. VII -- 3, c (2 b)) that the songs of the women are profane, or, with more accuracy, bacchic songs; that is, they regularly sing them when they distribute the caxirí, or in the intervals when they take their drink. Besides being more lively, there are more varied themes than in the religious songs of the men. Another quite striking difference is that, while the latter nowadays are articulations without any meaning, those of the women present a clear meaning. They are recitatives of longer or shorter sentences, with opportune arguments and allusions to her own person or to the one with whom she is having the dialogue.

By the law of exogamy, in one and the same povoado there are women of the tribe of the local inhabitants, and of one or more different tribes, taken as wives. And, by chance, in transit or out walking, still others, their relatives or "sisters." For this reason [184] and also because of the frequency of the dabacuris with the participation of dancers from different tribes, one and the same song might be known and performed by women of various tribes. There follows from this the difficulty in determining from which tribe the melody of a song might originally have come. The question, properly speaking, is about the melody, and not the lyrics. Because, as we have said, the latter is a timely recitative which the singer can say in her own idiom or in that of her husband or of the tribe where the poosé is held. And since nowadays the Tukano language is becoming generalized, many times it will be in that idiom; just as the songs that we recorded are actually in Tukano, although performed by young women not only from the Tukano group of tribes, but even by a maiden of the Arwáke group, from the Kumãdene tribe.

b) Amusements.

000

The Indian leads a life in contact with the majestic and silent nature of the Amazon forest, cut by innumerable streams. This explains to us why he appears so strong, agile, cheerful, although reserved.

5: Goldman E-5 (1939-1940) 1963
SQ19 Tucano SQ19
CUBEO

father blows into the milk, imparting to it his breath (*umé*), which is also his spirit. After several recitations a father's brother brings in *mihí*, in the proper ceremonial manner, tongue lolling and knees bent as though staggering under a great weight. All three drink the bitter brew and the recitation goes on. A naming ceremony I observed among the *Hehénewa* lasted two hours, beginning an hour before noon. It took place on the day of a mourning ceremony but before guests had arrived. The choice of the morning hours, I believe, is to establish the naming as strictly an in-sib affair. In the late afternoon there is a drinking party attended by all the sibs. In the *Hehénewa* case the mourning ceremony took the place of the drinking party. The ceremony concludes with bestowing the name, which is stated simply, "I give you the name ———, which was the name of ———." Then the grandfather blows into a small calabash of genipa with which the infant will be painted and into the calabash of milk. The child is induced to drink the milk. The grandfather now asks the child, "What name do you want?" Its father answers for it and the grandfather acknowledges it. The old man dips his index finger into the calabash of milk and presses it against the infant's heart "to make it grow." Then he asks the child, "What is your name?" The father answers for it. Finally, the old man touches the bridge of the child's nose and the ceremony is over. The bridge of the nose where it joins the forehead is the spot from which the soul will escape at death. By touching it the grandfather has left an opening for the soul to escape at the proper time.

Among the *Bahúkiwa* I had no opportunity to observe a naming ceremony, so the ceremony and the chants had to be described to me by informants. The ceremony as described and as I observed it among the *Hehénewa* was close to identical, but the *Bahúkiwa* chant and the *Hehénewa* chant differ, the latter having more clearly defined references to sib ancestors while the former is more definitely and directly a form of growth magic. In the *Bahúkiwa* chant there is only one reference to an ancestor and that is to a *Hehénewa* ancestor, *Urúhana* (Big one). My informants claimed they could not explain why they used a *Hehénewa* ancestor other than by the obvious reason that they had a right to claim an ancestor of the phratry. It may be, too, that the name, with its connotation of growth, has an irresistible appeal for the *Bahúkiwa*. The *Bahúkiwa* text given by informants is below, followed by the *Hehénewa*.

People of our soil
The milk that is from this place that causes to grow
People who are our offspring

5: Goldman E-5 (1939-1940) 1963
SQ19 Tucano SQ19
CUBEO

553
614
533
539

They are given milk
Milk of our soil
Milk that causes to grow
People who are being grown
People of our soil
People who are our younger sisters
Milk of the calabash
Milk that makes one grow quickly
Milk of our soil
People of our soil
People who are our younger brothers
The first one to grow fat
He [also] will grow fat
Milk that is nourishing
Milk that is nourishing that will make [him] fat
People of our soil
Urúhana who was the first to grow fat
Milk that is nourishing
He will grow fat
Milk that is liquid
Milk that is nourishing
The manioc gruel that is nourishing
Milk of our land
People of our land
Urúhana was the first one
The manioc gruel that he ate
The milk that was given to him.

Milk of our soil
That our offspring may grow
That we may all grow
Milk of the calabash
The offspring of *Urúhana*[1]
The calabash of *Djurédo*
When she [*Djurédo*] saw the birth
Milk to make it grow, she gave it
Milk of the calabash it drank
A child was being born to *Urúhana*
The offspring of *Urúhana*
The calabash of *Djurédo*
When she [*Djurédo*] saw the birth
Milk to make it grow, she gave it
Milk of our soil
She saw him grow
The son of *Hihédü*
Her fat offspring
Milk of our soil
She saw them grow

[1] The first child was born to *Hehénewa* Ancients *Urúhana* and his wife *Hihédü*. *Djurédo* was the sister of *Urúhana* and she gave the child milk drawn from her own breast into a calabash.

5: Goldman E-5 (1939-1940) 1963
SQ19 Tucano SQ19
CUBEO

553
514
533
539

Milk of the calabash
Children of our soil
She saw them grow
Son of *Hihédü*
Grew big and fat
Son of *Urâhana*
Grew big and fat
This milk of the calabash
He drank and grew
She saw it.

854
[157] Warm by nature and, at the time, with no rivals for her affection, a Cubeo mother bestows a great deal of tender care upon her nursing infant. The child is rarely out of her sight and is in almost constant contact with her body, slung in a bark-cloth band across her left hip in such a way that it has easy access to her breast. In the manioc garden the child lies in a cloth-lined tray covered with a bit of cloth against the sun and insects. In the house it rests in the same tray or perhaps in a nearby hammock as the mother works. The baby spends much of the night in its mother's arms cradled between her breasts. A father playing with his child also provides it with body contact. There may well be a connection between the infant's experience with body contact and the pleasure young people derive from it.

Infants are bathed often and in circumstances that are pleasurable. Whether a woman bathes her baby from a water basin in the house or at the river she finds it a welcome interruption from arduous and monotonous chores, and she communicates her pleasure to the in-
[515] fant. Women are gayest when they bathe in a group in the early
[296] afternoon after work in the manioc garden. A woman washes her skirt, the manioc roots, and her baby. River bathing is the Cubeo
[252] child's first direct contact with the conviviality of group activity.

854 An infant is not allowed to cry for long. It nurses on demand and
155 if it whimpers is immediately picked up, fondled, and soothed. I
[853] once saw a woman carefully crossing a small stream over a narrow log, with a basket of firewood balanced on her head, a machete in her right hand, and an infant slung on her hip. The infant reached for her breast; the mother paused, and still concerned with keeping her balance, adjusted the sling so that the infant could nurse. It is virtu-
[853] ally impossible to frighten an infant that is on its mother's hip. Nursing is accompanied by some teasing. A young mother playfully squirts milk over the infant's face or blows cigarette smoke at it to
[831] make it angry. Then she comforts it. When an infant begins to play with its genitals, the mother encourages it. She strokes a male infant's
000 genitals "to give him pleasure." The Cubeo are also fond of the

5: Goldman E-5 (1939-1940) 1963
SQ19 Tucano SQ19
Cubeo

tion seemed natural enough to the *Bahúkiwa*. It is not an exclusive sib cult. 769 796

The ancestor instruments lay nearby in a secret place on the river bank, upstream from the maloca, dressed in ceremonial dance feathers (*mápena*) because, as the Indians said, "our ancestors love to dance." (When the trumpets are removed the *mápena* is laid aside). The party first fetched the instruments so that the ancestors might accompany them on berry picking. Intermittently during the morning those of us at the maloca could hear the horns, at times sounding near and then trailing into the distance. The party returned in the late afternoon. The women at their chores near the river bank paused to listen to the low, mournful notes of the oncoming horns. A shot from the canoe was a warning signal that sent the women running for the house, laughing and shrieking at one another to hurry. [534] [533] [202]

The canoe came into sight, low in the water with its heavy burden of berries neatly packaged in baskets of loosely plaited palm fronds. The youngsters were paddling and their escorts played the horns, swinging them from side to side to sound in all directions. Now the women, who had gathered at the rear door of the maloca, ran off together to the manioc gardens, their traditional sanctuary, those in the lead calling to the laggards to hurry. [533]

The river was low and the canoe could not be seen except from the very edge of the high bank. No one, except the ethnographer, came to look. The party unloaded the berries. They bathed, and having bound fresh sprays of fragrant leaves over their buttocks, ascended the steep path. At the top of the bank the men formed themselves two abreast and marched upon the house sounding the horns, the youngsters trailing after them. Only three pairs of the traditional five were used, *Bwü*, *Onpwénda kűdjüwe*, and *Onpwénda*. [291] [824] [534]

The men sounding the horns, as embodiments of the ancestors, assumed a stern and almost menacing manner. This unaccustomed countenance seemed to frighten the boys and they were visibly nervous. The men were not at this moment concerned with the boys, but with bringing the ancestors and their powers into the house. They marched upon the house in the familiar dance step of a long measure and a pause, two long measures and a pause, and then three quick steps. At the pause, the six players swayed and swung their instruments in a high wide arc before them, the two *Bwü* horns in the lead, followed by *Onpwénda kűdjüwe* and *Onpwénda*. [535]

The ancestors did not enter the house immediately but paused at the front plaza. No man came out of the house, not because it was [576]

taboo but as a courtesy.

5: Goldman E-5 (1939-1940) 1963
SQ19 Tucano SQ19
CUBEO

574 provided. Men pass cigarettes to one another after a puff or two. A 276 man will ordinarily pass a cigarette to his own wife only, for the giving of a cigarette to a woman has a potentially erotic significance. When a woman receives the cigarette she passes it among her children until finally the suckling baby has had a smoke. She then returns it to her husband. The custom of sharing the cigarette has been widely observed along the Vaupés and its tributaries. The Indians [521] accept it as a mark of friendship and of trust. Ceremonious smoking [887] of cigars held in forked holders accompanies the dignified conversa- [614] tions of the sib elders and is mandatory when these old men get together to chant the sib origin traditions. Several cigars are lighted and are passed around. There is no way of sharing coca, but *mihí*, as we have noted, is "danced in" by the sons of the hosts, and the little ornamented beaker in which it is kept is passed around.

574 Dancing begins when the assembly is warmed up with drink. At 535 an *unkúndye*, dancing, being secular, is for the young, the adolescents and unmarried and the younger married men and women. In the most common dance three or four young men line up abreast, [533] left arm across a companion's shoulder, with the long dance flageolet, that sounds the song of the butterfly, in the right hand. An orchestra of Panpipes, seated to one side, sets the rhythm to which the dancers move and sound the flageolets. Starting at the rear of the house they move down the long dance corridor to a beat that starts as one slow step, a pause, two shorter steps, a pause, and then three rapid, almost running, steps, the inevitable Cubeo procedure of placing all ritual in the metric structure of *adagio* to *presto*. They reach the front of the house, their bodies swaying forward and back as they come down the corridor and gracefully swinging from side to side as they prepare to pivot, swinging the flageolets up and [614] around in unison. The first dancers are usually of the host sib and are brothers. During the early stages of the dance, as each of the visiting sibs puts its dancers on the floor, the formation is of brothers. It is not until much later during the night that drink and excitement have dissolved the fraternal bonds and allowed for the indiscriminate formation of dance teams. As the dancers move down the corridor the unmarried girls begin to stir; they giggle, nudge one another, sway forward with the desire to get up and join. But they are shy. They seek encouragement from one another. Often an older woman, a girl's mother, whispers sharply, "Go on, dance." Then two or three girls get up from the side lines and run behind the dancers, pacing themselves so as to slip under the yokes of the men's arms in the precise beat.

5: Goldman E-5 (1939-1940) 1963
SQ19 Tucano SQ19
CUBEO

574 535 831 she looks uncomfortable and solemn. The girls accompany the men for a few turns and then as unobtrusively as they entered the dance formation they leave it, disengaging their heads, backing away, and running quickly back to their places among the women. They are replaced by another group. Much later in the evening an observer is startled to discover heated and even violent disputes erupting all over the house as a result of these innocent-appearing dances.

574 535 [533] There is another dance in which the sexes are actually paired. The man plays either a Panpipe or a long flageolet and drops his left arm over the woman's shoulder while she encircles his waist lightly with her arm. This dance formation starts as a circle which, after making several turns, breaks up into couples who dance down the corridor one behind the other. During the circle dance a woman emits a long piercing shriek. I was given no explanation for this other than the vague comment, "Women feel like doing this."

Perhaps it is not overinterpreting too much to suggest that the form of the dance parallels some basic principles of Cubeo social structure: the unity of the fraternal sibling group; women as ancillary, fitting themselves in between the brothers, coming and going; the segmentary nature of the sibs; the feeling for obliterating what is after all an indelible mark of sib apartness. As for the erotic connotations of the dance, one may perhaps speculate on the phallic character of the flageolet. This instrument, by the way, is so long that when the dancer holds it before him the bottom is only bare inches from the ground. If he is careless as he dances and allows it to strike the ground he may lose his teeth. The dance starts with the instrument held down close to the earth. When the dancer has reached the forward end of the house he arcs the instrument high over his head. The flageolet resembles, but is not to be confused with, one of the ancestor trumpets that is brought out during ancestral cult celebrations. Then the deep sound of the flageolet stands for the deep and sacred voices of the ancestors, that bring to the men physical force, sexual potency, and bodily growth. The Cubeo make the obvious association between the deep tones and the solemn, and the high tones and the frivolous. In ensemble playing they also recognize one of the instruments as a leader and the others of the same group as followers. In the drinking party dances, flutes and Panpipes complement each other; the flutes are butterflies and the large Panpipes are vultures. Solemnity is always associated with the acquisition of powers. The movement of the dance is, as we have already noted, from slow to rapid. The last step before the dancers leave the floor is very rapid, almost a run, and the dancers in their excitement

535 574 831 534 [533] 574 535

5: Goldman E-5 (1939-1940) 1963
SQ19 Tucano SQ19
CUBEO

different significances in different tribes. The Central Amazon is one center of distribution of ceremonial masks and the Northwest Amazon region is another. In the former region, masks are not of bark cloth but of palm leaves that cover the entire body. The headpieces with human features are cylindrical and of wood. According to Cubeo tradition, they, too, once used palm-leaf masks before being taught by *Kúwai* to prepare bark cloth. Karl von den Steinen, who collected many dance masks from the Xingú River region, never saw them used and guessed that they were mainly ornamental. As among the Cubeo, the Xingú region masks represent animals, beasts, and fish (Steinen, 1894). Along the Araguaia, a tributary of the Amazon, ceremonial masks seem to be part of a secret men's cult and, of particular interest to a Cubeo comparison, they are also used in funeral rites (Krause, 1910, p. 109; Lehmann, 1911). In both parts of the Central Amazon, the Xingú and the Araguaia, the dance songs that are associated with the masks are similar to those of the Cubeo and may have been brought there by Arawakan-speaking peoples who still live there. In the Vaupés River region all the Arawakan tribes share the masked dance cult with Tucanoans. However, among Tucanoan tribes, Uanana and Desana do not have them (Koch-Grünberg, 1909, II, 64).

To the west of the Cubeo, in northeast Peru for example, masked dances are, surprisingly, not found among the Tucañoan-speaking peoples but rather among the Witotoans, such as the so-called Witoto proper, the Bora, and the Muinave. In this same region the Yagua, the Okaina, and the Tucuna, all of whom speak as yet unidentified languages, also have bark-cloth masks (Tessmann, 1930). The nature of their masked dances is similar enough to those of the Cubeo to leave very little doubt that they are historically connected. The masks of these tribes represent animals and demons, as among the Cubeo, and are similarly decorated. However, nowhere in this region are bark-cloth masks used in connection with mourning rites. The Tucuna use masks in girls' puberty rites, while among the Bora masked dances accompany the harvest festival of the pupunha palm. This is a point of historical interest, since the Cubeo mourning ceremony is held during the season when the pupunha palm is ripened and has other "harvest rite" motifs. Because information on masked dances in the Amazon area is so limited, no firm conjecture can be made as to their place of origin. It would seem, though, that the Cubeo have taken ceremonies that in other tribes pertain to harvest festivals, secret men's cults, or girls' first menstrual rites, and have adapted them to funeral rites. Simi-

5: Goldman E-5 (1939-1940) 1963
SQ19 Tucano SQ19
CUBEO

sumed and at that moment the victim dies. The Arawakan tribes in the region call him *Mahálu* and regard him as the chief of the masked dancers. The *abúhuwa*, of which there are several types, are grotesque forest ogres, a menace to the hunter whom they lead astray, tease, or kill, and the bogy man of the children. It was not my impression that the *abúhuwa* were deeply feared. They represent, rather, a caricature of human fears. The dung beetles (*kératamówa*) are literally devourers and cleansers of decay. They are, as Koch-Grünberg observed, good spirits and guardians against dangers. The carrion vulture (*kawá*) is simply a literal representation. The aracú represent the ordinary world that is neither good nor bad.

The masked dances (*wahómu*: bark-cloth tree) are mimetic, each illustrating some distinctive gesture or movement of the being represented. The songs, on the other hand, are not readily translatable, but many do mention the name of the being. As for the masks themselves, they are recognizable either specifically or at least by class by such distinctive design-motifs as wings, fish scales, feathers, and jaguar spots, as well as by characteristic features of over-all design. The intent is clearly to represent the being with some directness.

The jaguar masks have a design of yellow spots outlined in black and in red that covers the entire surface including the facepiece. In some masks the spots are distributed evenly and in others they are divided into fields. The jaguar sleeves are made of a coarse brown bark cloth that seems to be associated in the Cubeo mind, judging by how they use it, with more violent feelings, a point I shall deal with later. The jaguar dancers carry a jug whistle upon which they produce the deep *hoo hoo hoo* sound of the angry beast. The whistle is a short length of ambauva palm set into a pottery dish made expressly for the purpose. The pot is enveloped in brown bark thongs that cross the opening, where they are fastened to the whistle, thus allowing the instrument to be held with one hand. The entire pot is hung with bark fringes. The dancers move as a pair, sometimes holding hands and sometimes separately. As all dancers do, the Jaguars begin with a slow, stately walk, and then move into their characteristic movement. Legs held close, they spring forward and then back, sounding their booming *hoo*'s during the walking intervals. They follow a circular movement in either direction. The Jaguars have an important role in stirring the assembly, particularly the women, to the desired state of frenzy. They are almost always on the floor. They begin wild and are capable of increasingly more violent actions. The Jaguars are always men in their physical prime. At some time during the ceremonies all the mature and vigorous men will have

5: Goldman E-5 (1939-1940) 1963
SQ19 Tucano SQ19
CUBEO

danced the Jaguar. During the early part of the *óyne*, when proceedings are still orderly, the Jaguars and the Butterflies form an appropriate ensemble, the latter dancing in front of the Jaguars. Later a calculated disorder takes place. At this time the Jaguars tear the bark fastenings from their jug whistles and distribute the tough brown material to all the men to chew on so they may become "as strong and fierce as the jaguar." The jaguar song I collected is different from that recorded by Koch-Grünberg, but variations are common. Thus, when Koch-Grünberg saw the Jaguars among the *Hehénewa* they were not using jug whistles, while the Arawakan tribes were. The song I recorded was:

yavirárũ yavirákũ [repeated]
yavirárũ maníka
yavirárũ ya
ho ho ho o ho.

Like all mourning songs it had a slow rhythm and a hauntingly mournful tune. The Cubeo offered no translation. *Yavirákũ* means "big jaguar," and *maníka* may mean "children."[8] Koch-Grünberg collected a similar jaguar song among the Arawakans on the Aiarí River, whereas the song he recorded among the Cubeo is curiously quite different and does not even include the descriptive name *yavi*. There is good reason to suspect that these songs are widely exchanged.

The mask of Butterfly (*Tatárako*) is marked by triangular wing designs. The headpiece, moreover, has attached to it winglike structures made of bark cloth stretched over a frame of splints. The headpiece, which, like the Jaguar, has no facial markings, is built up around basket work to give it a bulbous appearance and to identify it with caterpillars, beetle larvae, and the sloth. A mask photographed by Koch-Grünberg has, in addition, an antennae-like strip arching forward over the face. The Butterflies also dance in pairs, often holding hands. Each holds a calabash in one hand and a stick in the other with which he strikes the calabash violently. This gesture imitates that of the sorcerer striking the pot into which the butterfly will fall. Their characteristic step is to run forward quickly and then take several slow steps back like the flight of the butterfly. Sometimes they drop to their knees to imitate the creatures resting. The song I recorded had the refrain *kaviré kaviré* and is not the same as that recorded by Koch-Grünberg on the Aiarí.

Koch-Grünberg observed nine types of demons or ogres, including

[8] The Cubeo term for children is actually *mandwa*. The term *maníka* may be a song transformation. However, this translation is very uncertain.

5: Goldman E-5 (1939-1940) 1963
SQ19 Tucano SQ19
CUBEO

765
532
776

a dwarf pair, several pairs of giants, a great owl demon, and two kinds of *abúhuwa*. I saw three *Abúhuwa*. The *Abúhuwa* are made to appear grotesque. Their masks are of coarse brown bark cloth and, unlike any other dancer, they sometimes wear bark-cloth trousers. One Indian said to me rather maliciously, "They are like the white man." One of the *Abúhuwa* not wearing trousers had large flapping breasts of bark cloth and was a "wife." The headpiece has a calabash to form a face painted with human features. The masks are intended to be as grotesque as possible. Since the *Abúhuwa* act clownishly, they induce in the spectators only mock alarm. The *Abúhuwa* have no song of their own and no fixed dance. They are free to improvise. There are two kinds of improvisation: wild when young men impersonate them, and listless and lolling when acted by old men. While the Jaguars act to build up a sense of violence, the *Abúhuwa* work to create disorder. Thus, no masked dancers will enter the women's quarter through the rear or women's door except the *Abúhuwa*. They burst in through the rear door, hopping in short strides as though they were on pogo sticks. They interfere with dances and perform a number of amusing skits.

765
535
532
[533]

The Dung beetles (*Keratamúwa*) are a pair. The masks have a white facepiece with a pair of eyes, or sometimes with no features at all. The body design includes the wide bars of the insect's body flanked by lozenge designs on each side. The headpiece is surmounted by a short hourglass-shaped tube of splints and bark cloth. They dance holding hands. Each holds a short stick. In a dance Koch-Grünberg saw, they pushed along another stick on the ground in imitation, he noted, of their work as cleaners. I saw them holding their short sticks before them like wands. Their dance is a slow movement, forward and back. The songs recorded by me and by Koch-Grünberg are not the same.

[533]
[114]

The Carrion vulture (*Kavá*) wears a mask with human features, although Koch-Grünberg saw one that he described as "naturalistic." The main design consists of very large lozenges (to depict the large feathers of the bird) flanked by horizontal bars suggesting outspread wings. The Carrion vulture carries a short stick held against the back of his neck, its ends extending over his shoulders, where his upraised hands hold it in place. The dancers bow gracefully from the waist to suggest the bird's soaring flight.

The Aracú (*Borikakú*) are usually represented in their several varieties. The headpiece is built up to a high peak made of splints covered with bark cloth in an hourglass design. The Aracú dance slowly, in pairs, and hold hands. Each carries a ten-foot pole bear-

5: Goldman E-5 (1939-1940) 1963
SQ19 Tucano SQ19
CUF

765 182 614 [615] ing the early stages. In the later stages, after the drink, the narcotics, and the general excitement have taken effect, the sib units disintegrate, so to speak, and the entire gathering becomes one generalized melee of phratry mates. The Cubeo do not call attention to the symbolic significance of the merger of sib identities; but that a mixing of the sibs is a desired result seems evident enough to an observer. For as long as the sibs maintain their separateness the mood of the *óyne* is solemn and decorous. The point of mixing is also the point 765 614 532 of desired disorder. As a unit each guest sib is responsible for preparing a number of masks (as well as other ceremonial objects) and for representing them in song and dance. To my knowledge a sib has no fixed prerogative to a particular mask or group of masks. It is [203] free to make any it chooses. Presumably there are preferences, although when the host issues the invitations to the *óyne*, he or his messenger negotiates the masks that each sib is to prepare. If the purpose of the negotiation is to ensure that all the mask beings will [533] be represented, that purpose is not always fulfilled. However, if a [535] mask is not present, the spirit being it represents can still be enacted [776] by the appropriate song and dance, for while the Cubeo do believe that a mask has a particular character they are not dogmatic about it. Masks and spirit beings are interchangeable.

765 535 152 The masked dances follow neither a precisely fixed sequence nor a precisely patterned ensemble, although they do follow a general order that is familiar to all. Since the principal sequence is one of mounting emotional intensity, it follows a natural course as the ceremony proceeds. The dance groups respond to one another. An ensemble is formed more or less spontaneously as one group of dancers stimulates others to join it. In the same way, the emotional level set by one group of dancers influences all others who follow.

MYTHOLOGICAL BASIS OF THE *ÓYNE*

765 539 The Cubeo tradition of the *óyne* is as follows. There was a time when people did not die and there were then very many people. One morning a boy followed his sister into her manioc garden and copulated with her. In the afternoon the girl returned home and told what her brother had done. The people beat the boy and drove him out. He wandered about in the forest for three months feeling ashamed. He could find nothing to eat and so he returned home very thin. He entered the maloca and, speaking to no one, lay down in his hammock and died. His own people did not mourn him but said,

5: Goldman E-5 (1939-1940) 1963
SQ19 Tucano SQ19
CUBEO

765 [831] [786] [535]

then unwinding it. They repeat this over and over, joining and parting. Watching this, the women regain their composure.

When the Spiders leave, the wives of the mourning sib are led into the men's side. Here, in pitch blackness, they sit in a circle around the ceremonial regalia of the deceased and weep. The men are no longer in masks; the masks are on poles and shield the women from the *Xudjika* horns, whose low, mournful notes, that sound like a bull-roarer, accompany the weeping. [533]

765 831 786 535

This most solemn interlude is followed by an entrance of all the men. Previously the masks had danced only with their own kind. After midnight all the masks form one line. Each man carries a lighted taper. They circle the house several times, singing the same song. They re-enter by the front door and pass immediately through the slit to the women's side, still bearing their flaming torches. A number of the dancers suddenly move forward, and seizing the chief female mourner by the hair, arms, and legs, drag her violently across the floor from side to side. They do the same to other female mourners but with less violence. The themes of sexuality and of hostility are intertwined in the *óyne* the way they are in daily life. Sex is always associated with the out-group. The parallel seems very clear between the ritual of "marriage by capture" and the ritualization of sex and aggressiveness in the *óyne*. [182]

From this moment the dancers are constantly among the women. Throughout the entire second day, dancers move in and out—one group leaving as another enters. Masked dancers fall upon the women, roll over them on the ground, or jostle them. The men say, "We are looking for *Míavi* [Eagle]." The jostling, which seemingly excites the women, is, however, largely formalized. No dancer touches a woman with his hands, and he makes the jostling appear to be accidental. The young boys, however, who are sexually aroused by this play, take advantage of the confusion and of the women's excitement to fall among them and to clutch at their breasts and thighs. [152]

765 536 [535]

The third day begins with a series of comic enactments for the benefit of the women. In one, the *Abúhuwa* carry a basket of bark-cloth balls called *wakúiu*, which they throw to one another, among the women, and then dive after. This violent buffoonery is counterpointed by a solemn dance of men, not in masks, who hold a long pole before them and move down the corridor in a slow tread singing the mournful refrain *kamiré, kamiré*. These dancers leave, and another *Abúhukũ* comes forward. He carries a bark-cloth coconut (*dudúki*). He pantomimes futile efforts to break it, studying it closely and tapping it against his head. He throws it on the ground among

5: Goldman E-5 (1939-1940) 1963
SQ19 Tucano SQ19
CUBEO

an older woman is not regarded quite as seriously as is the adultery of a young wife.

THE MEN'S SIDE

In the interaction between men and women we have seen the ritualization of sexual passion as a principal theme. In the events that are localized on the men's side of the house we see as a principal theme the ritualization of another range of emotion, the masculine emotions of grief and anger as well as a symbolic display of masculine sentiments of sib and phratric unity.

The *óyne* begins as an intrasib affair, and its first ritual acts are those of arrival: of the masked dancers, the beings, and the "grandmother," *Xudjíko* and her consort.

On the evening before the guests come, the men of the sib prepare the masks. The masks are mounted on poles before the house and are decorated with macaw and other feathers. Among the *Hehénewa* the men had hung the ears of the masks with the metal cylinders of cigarette lighters bought in trade for the occasion. The cylinders reminded them of *kenádox*, the quartz cylinder pendants. Decoration of the masks is timed to finish at sunset, not earlier, not later. On this night only the major masks are represented, the rest are brought by guests. The masks are arranged in pairs of the same kind, except for Aracú and Sloth, who go together. The Indians assured me that the pairing is not sexual; both are male, they said.

As darkness falls the men put on their masks and form up in pairs in a line, the Butterflies in the lead, followed by the Dung beetles, the Jaguars, and the Aracú-Sloth pair. They dance around the plaza in a circle, each singing its appropriate song but all using the same dance step—a simple one-step accenting the right foot, that bears ankle rattles. When they complete one circle, the Butterflies break away and, now in their proper dance step, approach the doorway of the house, strike the side wall violently with their rattles to announce their presence, and move back to continue dancing and singing as a pair on the plaza. Each pair, in turn, does the same, and there follows an interval in which the paired dancers move about the plaza unmindful of the others.

The first blow against the doorway by the Butterflies is a signal for the women behind their partition to begin wailing, and to continue to wail as long as they hear the dancers singing on the outside. This is an interval of some 15 minutes. Again the Butterflies strike the doorway violently. This time they run swiftly through the door-

5: Goldman E-5 (1939-1940) 1963
SQ19 Tucano SQ19
CUBEO

765
way, and within the darkness of the house they remove their masks [535]
and wait for the others to enter in the same manner. Assembled in the
house, the men listen for the sound from the canoe landing that will [574]
announce the arrival of *Xudjiko* and her consort. Bearing their
masks over their arms, they file out silently and form a double line
along the path from the canoe landing to the plaza.

Four men bring the great trumpets by canoe. Watched by the 765
others, they carefully lift out the trumpets noiselessly. When the 534
trumpets are on land the watchers whisper, "Here comes our grand- 574
mother." Two bearers mount the forward ends of the trumpets on
their shoulders and two in the rear are the players. The trumpets
sound their first low, mournful notes, and the watchers put on their
masks, form a file, and escort the "grandmother" into the house. A
trumpeter accompanies with a rattle.

The "grandmother" is first set in the very center of the dance floor 765
of the male section, and as the trumpets are played by two men, 533
the masks circle "her," their songs blending with "her" lamentation. 534
Again the women behind their barrier respond with their own
higher-pitched human wailing. After a brief interval the "grand-
mother" is moved to her permanent place at the left, where a frame-
work to receive the trumpets has been installed. The rest of the night 765
is devoted to the dancing of the masks and the lamentation of the 535
"grandmother." The men take turns in sounding the trumpets. Occa-
sionally they rest and drink chicha and smoke. They dance on the
plaza, in the men's section and in the women's section. Whenever they [202]
enter the house they strike the doorway loudly and spur the women
to renewed wailing. Shortly after midnight the men drape the door- [789]
way with brown bark cloth as a barrier against evil sorcery. At dawn
they remove the drape and hang it over the inner partition. It will
be used for making the *dúpu*, the phalluses, the alligator, and other
paraphernalia.

As day breaks they prepare for a third admission, that of sibmates 765
who will pay their respects to the dead. The oblong box of plaited 614
palm fibers in which a man keeps his ceremonial possessions is
brought out and set in the center of the dance floor. These are the
ceremonial belongings of the deceased and at this time they repre-
sent him. Among the *Hehénewa*, where the deceased had been the
father of the headman, the box, as well as a tray containing the full
Cubeo ceremonial regalia – feathers (*mápena*), quartz cylinder pend-
ant, jaguar-tooth and aramadillo-vertebrae girdles – were laid out.

The sons and grandsons form a circle around these representations
of the dead. Each carries in his left hand either a shotgun or a heavy 765

5: Goldman E-5 (1939-1940) 1963
SQ19 Tucano SQ19
CUBEO

765 staff as a weapon. They pose with head bowed, both hands resting
765 on the weapon. The chief mourner holds a rattle hung with a feather
53 and eagle down in his right hand. He begins the formal oration, an angry declaration denouncing the unknown sorcerers who have killed his father. As he speaks, in a hoarse, changing voice, he swings the rattle in a vertical arc, pivoting on his left foot, facing one mourner and then the next. His gestures are vigorous and his pivot is crisply executed. He swings the rattle upward almost into the face of the mourner whom he is addressing. He has hardly completed the circle when each of the mourners, swinging his right arm in an arc, turns to a companion and recites a similar angry declaration. The companion to whom he turns also pivots to face him, awaiting his return to reply. This part of the ritual is executed as a ballet. The declaimer is poised with his right foot forward, waiting for his partner to pivot and face him, and not until the partner has executed his pivot does he begin his declaration. The headman, having initiated these hoarse and angry harangues, turns his attention to the ceremonial remains of the deceased. His head bowed, he gently shakes the rattle over them and utters a sad lament that he has lost a father. After an interval of angry shouting the mourners re-form the close circle, bow their heads, and weep. They pause to blow their noses, wiping their hands on the fringes of the masks that have been hung nearby.

765 Other members of the sib are not part of this close mourning circle.
614 They put on their masks and dance, circling the mourners. The
535 *Xudjiko* trumpets are silent because they are sounded only by the
[533] men of the household of the deceased, who are now part of the circle of mourners. The mourning of the men signals the women to begin again their wailing, their piercing lamentations rising clearly above every other angry and mournful sound.

765 This interval of mourning lasts some 15 minutes. The ceremonial property of the deceased is then removed and the men rest, drinking
[535] chicha and smoking. Dancing resumes after half an hour. At dawn
[789] the Jaguars cut off the brown bark-cloth trimmings from their jug trumpets and pass them among the men to chew. This will guard them, they say, against sorcery from their phratry mates, who will arrive as mourners late in the afternoon.

765 Later in the morning the men put up crossbars to "guard" the
276 women's entrance. After this *mihí* is prepared. A sibman staggers in with a bundle of the narcotic vine. *Mihí*, as always, is carried in the ritual manner, one of its features being a representation of great weight. The bearer bends low, raising his knees high, and circles the

5: Goldman E-5 (1939-1940) 1963
SQ19 Tucano SQ19
CUBE 0

765 574 masks and drink chicha. The guests finally stand in a circle around [535] the ceremonial remains of the deceased. With heads bowed and leaning on their guns or staffs before them they chant a lamentation, their leader shaking his rattle slowly. They weep, the *Xudjiko* trum- [533] pets pick up the lament, and the women join in. They repeat this performance with little variation three times. After the third, they break ranks and face their hosts again in the postures of the angry harangue. Finally each guest breaks away and rushes toward the open doorway brandishing his weapon outside and shouting defiance at the sorcerer or other enemies of the phratry.

Concluding this phase of mourning, the guests leave the house so as to make still another entrance, this time to be received as men with the formal salutations at the doorway.

Guests from others sibs arrive by maloca groupings, each group of eight or ten men acting out the same ritual. Each group appears in three roles: as spirit beings who are repulsed, as generalized mourners who act out grief and anger, and finally as kinsmen, each of whom is received individually and with a kinship greeting as he makes his final entrance to the house. When they are greeted as kinsmen, the ceremonial remains of the deceased have been removed; they are welcomed at this point with a calabash of chicha and with *mihi*.

765 574 184 There are some minor variations in this pattern of greeting. At the *Hehénewa óyne* one group "attacked" with a barrage of pupunha thrown against the roof and the front walls. This "attack" had, however, another side to it. In part it was an attack and some of the fruit was thrown violently through the door, where the defenders threw it back at the masked attackers. But punpunha is also regarded at this time as an offering for the women of the house – just as it is during the ancestral whipping ceremony, when the house is showered with fruit by the ancestral spirits. The sound of pupunha fruit striking the roof frightens the women.

765 574 [535] This dualism of assault and of offering is carried out in somewhat different form in the course of the ritual receptions to the house. The first instance is when the guests arrive as masked dancers or as spirit beings. They are received first in a friendly way, joining in a dance with their hosts. Then the two groups separate and engage in ritual attack and defense. In the second entrance, as generalized human beings, there are a number of alternations between aggression and friendliness and between anger and grief. Even the circle dance [535] around the ceremonial remains of the deceased has a gentle clockwise motion symbolized by the whispered *t t t t* followed by a more

5: Goldman E-5 (1939-1940) 1963
SQ19 Tucano SQ19
CUBE C

765
The first phase of the *diyne* concludes on the morning of the fourth 574
day. Despite the drinking and the exhaustion of frenzied dancing 576
the departures are as formal as the arrivals. The hosts form their line at the doorway and the guests pass along, exchanging final expressions of grief. Men embrace one another and weep. Women weep [152]
once more with women. Before he leaves the house, each man presents the host with the masks he has brought, including all its ornaments. Among the *Hehénewa* the men mimicked the lamentations of the guests after the last one had left, and all laughed.

765
One month later a concluding and simpler ceremony is held. On [535]
the first evening the masks dance again and the *Xudjiko* is sounded. [534]
At dawn the masks and their ornaments, as well as all the ceremonial paraphernalia made specifically for the *diyne* including the trumpets, are burned in a great fire on the front plaza. Not all the masks are destroyed, because the children are privileged to reclaim any they wish from the flames. The burning puts an end to the jurisdiction over the house of the spirit representations and officially concludes the mourning.

765
That evening the final dance is held. The house has now been re- 535
stored to a normal ceremonial state, and the dances of this evening include men and women. They dance the ordinary dances of the drinking parties and conclude with a great circle dance within the house that includes all men, women, and youngsters. This dance is known as *kompaindüwü* (going home). The dance forms on the plaza and circles about a fire in the center of the house, moving clockwise and then reversing. The men are fully ornamented and carry stamping tubes; a woman dances between two men. They sing a refrain, [533]
kenadjü marié kenadjü pimári. Periodically a woman dancer screams loudly in a high-pitched voice, breaking in upon the somber melody. 765
As this dance continues through the night, couples break away and 535
leave for the brush behind the house. They copulate, return to the 786
dance, and seek new sexual partners. At this point the dance has [531]
become chaotic. No overt sexuality, however, occurs within the house. These events conclude the social aspects of the *diyne*, and the 765
following morning, after the guests have begun to depart, is devoted 775
to dealing with the spirits of the dead. There are two events, the first 266
of which I was regrettably barred from observing. This may have 114
been the endocannibalism that Wallace reported in 1853 [10] and that

[10] "The Tarianas and Tucanos and some other tribes, about a month after the 171
funeral, disenter the corpse, which is then much decomposed, and put it in a 765
great pan, or oven, over the fire, till all the volatile parts are driven off with a most 189
horrible odor, leaving only a black carbonaceous mass, which is pounded into a 266

6: Moser and Tayler E,N-5 (1960-1961) 1967 SQ19 Tucano SQ19

226 fish hooks and line we carried for bartering were greatly sought after, though José for some reason sabotaged much of our exchange. He told the Indians that our nylon was not as good as their own *cumare* line and he broke the barbs of our steel hooks on the house posts to show that their own were better.

226 796 'That is barbasco, a poisonous liana.' José pointed to several bundles of saplings lying on the floor of a *maloca* we were visiting. 'Soon, in late February or March, before the first rains, all the Indians near here will gather for the fish poisoning. They will build small dams in the streams, and the *barbasco* will be pounded and thrown into the water above these dams. All the fish float to the surface and, with nets made from *cumare*, or long spear arrows with forked metal ends, they will be caught in great quantities and carried to a *maloca*. Usually a particular house is chosen each year and, when enough fish have been collected, the festival will start. This may go on for days with *chicha*, panpipes and painted *yarumo* dancing-staves, and many people – and more fish than we see at any other time in the year.' This was a festival we wished to see, but we did not expect to be in the Piraparaná in March. Besides they might have been reluctant to let us watch a ceremony on which the abundance of fish during the following year depended.

Four days below Ni we came to the great falls of Beiju, and there, as we dragged *El Diablo* over the portage, we met some Indians who told us they were going to a festival at a Makuna *maloca* belonging to a headman called Bréo. It was two days' journey up a tributary, but we decided to go.

The Tukano have many festivals throughout the year; among the most important are the Fish Festivals and the Harvest Festivals for the pineapple,

533 534 *miriti* palm and *guamo* fruits, and for the manioc. At all these they dance, sing and play their instruments. But to the Indian, music is also a form of relaxation and enjoyment. Often as the men laze in their hammocks they happily while away the time playing on their bamboo panpipes. Blowing across the eight- or nine-stemmed pipes two men may accompany each other for hours on end, ascending and descending the same scale, rhythmically counterbalancing one another in tuneful but repetitive melodies. They continue, apparently oblivious of repetition, and the panpipe tunes soon became imprinted on our minds. Each clan has its own variations; most of the [184] tunes are based on their dances, though some are in imitation of birds. At night the young boys play their pipes crouched around the central posts of the *maloca*, and the clear notes carry across the still forest like church bells ringing on a cold winter's night. Only occasionally do the Indians actually sing for enjoyment; one headman uttered a staccato war song as he pounded coca leaves and occasionally the women hummed as they rocked their babies to sleep. Their instruments are more important to them; of these the snail-shell and deer-bone flutes, the tortoise shells and the clay horns are the most unusual.

It is hard to believe that a river-snail shell no more than three inches long

6: Moser and Tayler E,N-5 (1960-1961) 1967 SQ19 Tucano SQ19

can produce a most haunting tune. This tiny flute, the three-holed *sihoo*, is more often played outdoors than inside the house. Its clear rippling notes mingle with the forest calls, perhaps imitating a bird drawn closer and closer to the Indian hunter. The deer-bone flute, in contrast, has a harsh, piercing, eerie sound. It is made from a deer's tibia and three holes are drilled into the bone with a *capybara's* tooth. A little slit is cut into the head of the deer-bone, down which the man blows. Small lumps of beeswax are melted into the apexes and shrill notes come flowing out – bizarre perhaps, but melodious. This instrument is generally heard during the *chicha* ceremonies between the dances. The tortoise shell, too, is an instrument which has a weird, almost hypnotic tone. It is played by a man who squats on the ground with the shell gripped under the knee between thigh and calf muscles. Rapidly he rubs, almost jerks, the palm of his hand over the beeswax-coated head of the shell. Sometimes two men will play two tortoise shells and a pair of panpipes at the same time, and the continuous reverberation of the *goos*, as the tortoise shells are known, together with the syncopation of the panpipes produces an amazing effect. The high muffled tones of the *goos* echo round the *maloca*, driving the Indian's coca-bemused senses into a semi-hypnotic trance. To us this was not an unpleasant sensation and on listening closer we could pick out what was in fact a highly sophisticated rhythm. Each panpipe entered just off beat in an exciting, almost modernistic manner, more reminiscent of a modern jazz quartet than four primeval instruments of the Amazon.

Our recording equipment intrigued the Indians – those small boxes with wheels which turned, lengths of 'string' with weird metal objects on the end, held close to their faces or hung from the ridge poles of their *malocas*. It was all beyond their comprehension. At first they were frightened but once they had listened to their own voices and music, they were astounded and could not wait to hear more. We all too soon found ourselves using as much of our precious battery power to play back as we did to record. Sometimes they were intrigued by Western music – Beethoven piano concertos, Brahms and Gershwin had little effect, but the Bach double violin concerto drew many eager faces, a Haydn trumpet concerto brought smiles of approval and on hearing the Commendatore's deep voice in the last act of *Don Giovanni* the whole *maloca* drew near in wonder. Perhaps this really was the white man's shaman.

We waited four days at Bréo's while the women brought in baskets and baskets of manioc to prepare for *chicha*, and the men pounded coca leaves incessantly. During this time the *maloca* filled with families who had travelled by canoe from their distant forest homes along the winding river courses. Some had already been warned by messengers of the coming festival to celebrate the manioc harvest, but on the afternoon before it started Bréo left for a high knoll of ground, and stood blowing a clay horn – perhaps to warn

6: Moser and Tayler E.N-5 (1960-1961) 1967 SQ19 Tucano SQ19

would be carefully inspected by Indians we met later, who would disregard them if they considered them inferior work.

Sometimes we would play music we had recorded in the Amazon to see what the highlanders' reaction was. Then we would play classical music or jazz. Usually a simple tune or one with a distinct rhythm conveyed something to them. There was some interest in Bach or Mozart, but none in Brahms. As for their own music, once we had shown our interest or they had heard the play-back on the recording machine, they all – with the exception of the Kogi – would play to us for hours, and the range of sounds and instruments was astonishing.

Astonishing, too, was the realization that an Indian besides being a cultivator, a hunter, a fisherman, a boat-maker and house-builder, besides knowing the tribal legends and myths and the arts of basket weaving, wood carving and design, was also a musician, not only playing but himself making, with considerable skill, a wide range of musical instruments.

Among the Tukano alone we counted fifteen such instruments. A jingle-rattle is admittedly not very difficult to play, but it requires skill to make one and to design it so that each shell produces a certain note. A panpipe or a deer-bone flute may not be difficult to make, but it takes practice and determination to play one.

The Indian is deeply involved in the natural world about him, and just as he incises on a calabash the representation of a beetle or a frog, he will try to imitate the calls of birds or the sounds of the forest. All his instruments reflect this forest environment: snail and tortoise shells, deer-bones, nut-shells and gourds. But his music is also deeply involved with myth and ritual. We found the giant *jurupari* flutes were never placed where women could see them. They were used during the ceremony to call their god. When the women heard the flutes, booming like alpine horns in the distance, they fled into the forest, not daring to return till the flutes had been returned to the stream bed. The sacred significance of many of the instruments may account for their elaborate designs.

Very little is known of the origin of Indian, as of all music. Perhaps it first evolved during religious ceremonies, through the waving of a stick in the air or its being beaten on the floor; or perhaps through the rustle of marsh reeds held in the hand and shaken as Severiano did during the ceremony of Canta Haí. This may have been the first sound to suggest the use of nutshells and seed-rattles.

When we were living with the Casacará-Motilon Alec Clark told us that the Indians put the mark of a stag's antlers on their foreheads to bring them luck. He also gave us his interpretations of the legend of the puma and the deer, from whom the clan was descended. In the Amazon the shaman is said to be able to disappear at will and travel through the forest in the guise of a puma, because this animal was the most dreaded of all. Both these animals

6: Moser and Tayler E,N-5 (1960-1961) 1967 SQ19 Tucano SQ19

171
773
825

occur constantly in the myth and legend of the tribes, as does the Motilon legend of the twins. It is a legend known from Mexico to the tribes living in Tierra del Fuego, which suggests a considerable antiquity.

Just as the puma is usually the symbol of fear, so the deer is credited by the Indian with fairy-like, almost feminine, qualities, perhaps because of its shyness and speed. It has been suggested that the deer is the symbol of new life, having been regarded as such by early migrations of hunting folk moving south along the chain of the Andes from North America. It was thus associated with first menstruation and all the accompanying rites when a girl reaches puberty and is able to create new life, and its hooves were used by women as ornaments or rattles. The deer-bone flute may have been the first musical instrument used by the Indians.

Several tribes have no musical instruments at all. Possibly these were the first people to reach South America. Later migrations may have brought instruments with them, possibly others evolved on the spot. The similarity of some Kogi and Motilon instruments to those used in Central America suggests a more recent influence.

171
534

At first we found it difficult to distinguish the sounds of the different instruments if we could not see them. But after a while we learnt to recognize not only the instrument but also the many different tunes of each tribe. A Noanamá girl would sing to herself for hours on end. The Motilon had a vast repertoire of walking, war and harvest songs. Instrumental tunes were fewer and some, as in the case of the haunting call of the snail shell, tended to be very repetitive. The Tukano, however, had innumerable panpipe tunes.

533 ●
534
171

Indian music we at first found strange because we were accustomed to the European tone system. They have no conception of note vibrations to obtain an octave. Yet they can tell whether one instrument is in tune or not with another. A panpipe can be cut to a certain length to produce a particular sound, but it is difficult to produce the exact note, so they may raise the pitch by adding sand, or putting water or even *chicha* inside.

The panpipe tunes in the Tukano festival were the nearest thing we heard to orchestral music; each group played antiphonally, with sometimes two or three groups playing different tunes. We could not however make out whether combination or competition was the motive behind this weird performance.

The Tukano had no conception of counterpoint, though their playing was often harmonious. We did find it in the singing of the Noanamá – perhaps the result of mission teaching. One Tukano chant is almost identical to a western Irish folk lament.

In contrast to African negro music in which stringed instruments and drums predominate, Indian music is mainly that of the rattle and the flute. Every type of construction is found, from humming top and conch shell to

6: Moser and Tayler E.N-5 (1960-1961) 1967 SQ19 Tucano SQ19

533 534 171 panpipes and the whistling jars of the Andes. Since the time of the Conquest European music and more particularly African music has had an increasing influence on the conservative Indian. The Noanamá and the highlanders showed signs of this influence, though the Tukano were still free of it. In some cases the instrument had been adopted and was played in the Indian idiom. The Noanamá had a type of drum probably copied from their negro neighbours, but they still played their own halting rhythms. The Motilon had a musical bow, but its use was entirely Indian in conception.

In the Sierra Nevada we found a direct clash of musical idioms, in the *chicote* and *gaita* played by the Indian-creole inhabitants. Perhaps in this are the seeds of a new music combining the atonal, remote and sad Indian music with the gay, sophisticated, ebullient harmonies of the negro-creole. Perhaps the folk music of Colombia as a whole, from the Spanish mountain songs to the negro rhythms of the coast, is a manifestation of a Euro-Afro-Indian music evolving like the arts and the people themselves into a new wholly South American dimension.

171 609 Such are the idle thoughts of travellers written in retrospect. But of all our memories – Kogi temples, Noanamá children paddling to their stilted houses in a Pacific sunset, a Tukano *maloca* at dawn with the steam rising off the night-wetted thatch – the one that will remain longest will be that of the Indian himself, whether a Kogi regarding us with the scorn of a man who knows himself to be a superior being, or a Tukano who never looks *at* you, rather into you with a strange trustful-untrusting eye, as if to try and penetrate your innermost thoughts.

000 Walk with him long enough in the forest and you too will learn to see the track of a tapir; to tell if it was running by the depth of the spoor; to tell if it was wounded by the clot of blood beside the path; even to tell the time when it passed, by the dryness of an upturned leaf, the only one on a shower-soaked forest floor. Perhaps if you could speak his language he would teach you how to walk through the forest for days and never lose your way, to use a bow and arrow, to kill a parrot with one dart from your blowpipe. You might even come to accept the forest for what it is. You would become part of it and it would be the only world you knew....

If you ever reached that stage, then you would be like an Indian. Then you would understand the shock of civilization. It would be like going for a very long holiday in a remote countryside, perhaps the Outer Hebrides, never seeing another soul, and then returning to the heart of a city. Only it would be a hundred times worse.

You would take cocaine because to you it would be perfectly natural. Your father took it and his father before him. You were told as a child that you could not live without it when in the late summer, at the end of the dry season, you had to travel great distances to find deer at the water holes.